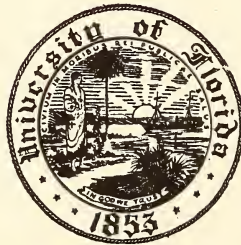


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OF COUNCILS AND COUNSELORS

Of Councils and Counselors

(1570)

BY

Thomas Blundeville

AN ENGLISH REWORKING

OF

El consejo i consejeros del principe

(1559)

BY

Federico Furio Ceriol

A FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

Karl-Ludwig Selig

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

SCHOLARS' FACSIMILES & REPRINTS

1963

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HARRY R. WARFEL, GENERAL EDITOR

Original Title:

*A Very Briefe and Profitable Treatise
Declaring How Many Counsellis, and What Maner
Of Counselers a Prince That Will Governe Well
Ought to Have*

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Introduction

Thomas Blundeville's *Treatise*, a free translation and adaptation of Federico Furió Ceriol's *El concejo i consejeros del principe*, but based on the Italian version of Alfonso de Ulloa, merits an edition for a number of important reasons. It is first of all a significant political treatise of the sixteenth century. It is also part of a large and splendid chapter of English-Spanish cultural relations, in which political works, books on the instruction of the prince, court books, moral treatises, and didactic literature had such a prominent role. It belongs to the age which saw the popularity and vogue in England of Guevara, Vives, Mexia, and Antonio Pérez. As a book of instruction for the prince and as a moral treatise, facet of the larger tradition and genre usually referred to as *de regimine principum*, it stands between Elyot and North and John Thorius' translation of Bartolomé Felipe's *The Counsellor* (1589), whose very title echoes that of Furió Ceriol. That Blundeville's translation was based on an Italian intermediary recalls and is reminiscent of the English translations of Guevara by way of the French, which again sheds light on and is an interesting example of precisely how Spanish literature gained popularity in Tudor England. Blundeville's trea-

tise, by its attention to the humoral theory, was a forerunner and an important step in the introduction of such thought in England, which was crystalized a few years later by the English translation of Juan Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios*.

The three figures involved in our text, Furió Ceriol, Ulloa, and Blundeville, are all interesting in their own right. It is generally accepted now that Furió Ceriol was born in 1527 in or near Valencia. Early in his life, he dedicated himself to the study of literature and continued his humanistic pursuits at the University of Valencia. Like another great Valencian of the beginning of the sixteenth century, he left his native city in his early twenties and matriculated at the University of Paris, where among other distinguished professors he heard Talon and Ramus. When Henry II declared war on Charles V, Furió Ceriol left France and participated with the Emperor in the siege of Metz (1552). Again like Vives, he continued to the University of Louvain (ca. 1555). Now enjoying the protection of Charles V and the future Philip II, he continued his travels. In 1559 in Antwerp he published his *El concejo i consejeros del principe* dedicated "Al gran Catolico de España, don Felipe el segundo". It is the only published part of a much larger work he had planned; yet in spite of this, it is one of the most important documents of political theory of sixteenth-century Spain. Furió Ceriol spent the remainder of his life in the service of the Spanish monarch, and died at Valladolid in 1592.

In the subtle vagaries that so often occur in the transmission of literary texts from one country to another, Alfonso de Ulloa holds a very important and fascinating position. In the cultural relations between Italy and Spain in the sixteenth century, Ulloa's name figures somehow — as editor, translator, writer of prefaces, prologues and dedicatories, and even as pseudo-author or falsifier — in almost every major text of the period. Born in Toro in the province of Zamora, while still very young he moved to Venice, where he was attached to the Spanish embassy in the republic, and where he died in 1570. His bi-lingual ability must have been phenomenal, and the number of works in which he was involved in some capacity or other is impressive. The following list is illustrative of his activities: Ariosto, Bandello, Díaz Tanco, Giovio, Guevara, Mexia, Montemayor, Petrarch, Fernando de Rojas, Diego de San Pedro, Juan de Segura, and of course Furió Ceriol. But in his zeal to gain favor and patronage, so evident from the adulatory tone of his dedicatories, his morals became impaired and blemished, witness the fabrication and falsification of a fictional life of Columbus by his son Ferdinand.

Relatively very little is known about Blundeville's life. A native of Newton Flotman in Norfolk, he may have attended Cambridge, and did enjoy the favor of Leicester, to whom he dedicated several of his works. Blundeville was not a very original writer. His treatises were mainly derivative, adaptations or translations, whose purpose was to instruct and whose general tenor was often

one of popularization. His *Three Morall Treatises* (London, 1561) — the second treatise has a dedicatory poem by Roger Ascham — is based on Plutarch's *Moralia*. *The Art of Logike* (1599) is a recast of Aristotle. The subtitle states: "A very necessarie Booke for all young students in any profession to find out thereby the truth in any doubtfull speech but specially for such zealous ministers as haue not beene brought up in any University." And "From the Reader," we learn: "... the art of Logike in our vulgar tongue for the profite of those my countrymen that are not learned in foreyne tongs. I think it no shame nor robberie to borrowe tearmes of the said art from the Latines, ... desirous to know now to defend ... against subtill sophisters and cauelling schismatiques". *A newe booke containing the arte of ryding* (1560), of which we find later versions and elaborations entitled *The fower chiefyst offices belonging to Horseman-shippe* (1565), is said to be the first English work on equitation. It is dedicated to Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and is an abridgment of Federico Grisone's *Ordini de cavalcare*. It has also been said that it was written at the suggestion of John Astley, "Maister of her Majesties Jewell House."

The true order and methode of writing Hystories (1574) was also dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. The work is based on the ten dialogues of Francesco Patrizi's *Della Historia* (Venice, 1560), and, according to the preface, "partly out of a little written Treatyse, whych myne olde friende of good memorie, Acontio did not

many yeares since present to your Honour in the Italian tongue". Professor Mary Scott mentions that a manuscript on the use and study of history, written in Italian, and presented to the Earl of Leicester, by Jacopo Aconcio, in August 1564, is preserved in the Public Record Office. But Aconcio's work gives us another insight into the prevailing cultural ambience and establishes another link between Blundeville and the group associated with Leicester, a circle intensely interested in matters Italian. As we shall see, Blundeville's translation of Furió Ceriol was done at the suggestion of Giovanni Battista Castiglione. The latter, mentioned by Pietro Bizzari, was the queen's principal master of Italian, and Aconcio left him his papers. Another work, attributed to Aconcio, *Una essortazione al timor di Dio*, was edited by Castiglione with a dedicatory preface to Queen Elizabeth.

Blundeville was also the author of some treatises of a purely instructional tone. His *Exercises containing eight Treatises* (1597) is devoted to arithmetic, cosmography, astronomy, principles of navigation, among others. It is recommended for those "who travel especially abroad . . . the indies." Much of this material is found elaborated in *The Theories of the seven planets* (1602), important for the early application of the Copernican theory of the solar system. The book follows Ptolomy, Peurbachius (Georgius), Erasmus Reinholdus, and Giovanni Antonio Magini. The book is addressed to "... all Gentlemen that are desirous to be skilfull in Astronomie and for all Pilots and Sea-men, or any others that

loue to serue the Prince on the Sea, and by the Sea to trauell to forraine Countries."

Blundeville's *Treatise* (1570), dedicated to Leicester, and which is here reprinted, is a translation of Furió Ceriol, but based on Alfonso de Ulloa's *Il Concilio et consiglieri del principe* (Venice, 1560). That the translation was based on an intermediary is in itself of much interest for what it may tell about the actual knowledge of Spanish and availability of Spanish texts in Tudor England. Furió Ceriol had envisioned a work to be divided into five parts or treatises. The fifth treatise was to deal with "concejos y consejeros del príncipe" and was to be divided into eight books. Our text, the only one completed by the author, represents the first book of the last treatise. For Furió Ceriol the study of politics was an art. In the prologue he refers to "esta arte o institucion del principe"; it is the art of government which concerns him and, in particular, the organization and structure of the king's councils and counselors. For Furió Ceriol, as well as for his translators, the work is a detailed study and analysis of the number of councils and the ideal qualifications and qualities of the counselor. The first needs no further analysis here. The latter, the study of the "sufficiences," the qualities of mind and body required of the counselor, reveals the author's keen interest in physiognomy, the nature of temperament, and the humoral theory. This was a vital step toward the work of another Spaniard, Huarte de San Juan, who gained such a wide reputation in England where the

Examen de ingenios was translated in 1594, a work important for the study of the temperaments and humors in relation to political theory.

I should like to express my sincerest appreciation to Dr. L. B. Wright of the Folger Shakespeare Library for permission to reproduce the Blundeville text and for a Fellowship which permitted me to study at this distinguished Library in the Summer of 1959, and to the American Philosophical Society and to Dr. E. Clark Stillman of the Belgian American Educational Foundation who made it possible to examine the Antwerp edition of Furió Ceriol at the Musée Plantin.

KARL-LUDWIG SELIG

University of Minnesota
June 3, 1962

A very briefe and profi-
table Treatise declaring
hovve many counsells,
and vvhhat maner of Coun-
sellers a Prince that
will gouerne well
ought to
haue.

The Booke speaketh.

All you that Honors woulde atcheue,
And Counslers eke desire to bee,
Of selfe loue flee the false belceue,
And learne my lore that you may see
What worthynesse in you doth reygne,
Such worthy state thereby tatteyne.

I M P R I N T E D
at London by Willi-
am Seres.

Firmo Appoggio.



To the ryght Noble
Erle of Leycester, one of
hir highnesse most Honora-
ble, wise, and graue
Counselers.

15



FOR LACK OF BET-
ter habilitie, I am bolde
after my olde wonte, to
presēt your Honor with
Inke and Paper, more to
doe my bounde dutie in
shewing my selfe thank-
full towardses you, for your great benifites
bestowed on mee: than for any profite or
pleasure, that I know your Honor can reape
any waye of my rude wryting. And yet a-
mongst al the tryfles that cuer I wrote, there
was none in mine opinion that ought to
please you better than this little Treatise,
representing vnto you as it were in a glasse,
manye of those good vertues and qualities
that do raigne in you, & ought to raigne in
euery other good counseler. Which Treatise
was first wrytten in the Spanishe tongue by
a Spanyard called FEDERIGO FVRIO, and af-
terward translated into the Italian tongue by

A. 2.

ANO-

The Epistle.

another Spanyard called ALFONSO D'VLLOA, but not with so good grace as I belecue it had in the Spanishe, vvhich in deede I neuer sawe, and therefore though my very friend Mayster Iohn Baptist Castiglion one of the Gromes of hir Highnesse priuie chamber, vpō good zeale he had to profite many, deliuered me the saide booke at my last being at the Court, earnestly requesting me to put the same into our vulgar tong, yet I would not altogether translate it, but thought it best to make a brieve collection of the substance thereof, cutting of all superfluous talke, and yet leauing nothing out (I trust) that was necessary to be spoken. But howsoeuer it be I most humbly beseech your Honor to take it well in worth , and in perusing the same to conceyue of my labour bestowed therein, with that fauourable iudgement , which you haue alwayes vsed towards mee, in all my other doings, and therewith to continue still my good Lord, euen as I think my selfe bounde to continue your faythfull seruant. Thus leauing to trouble your Honor any further : I pray God to graunt you helth & long lyfe , with much prosperitie . From Newton Flotman the first of Aprill. 1570.

Most bounde to your Honor
Thomas Blundeuill.

With what order and
methode the Institution
of a Prince ought to
be written.

17



WH O so vwill
write the Institu-
tion of a Prince,
ought to deuide
hys vvorke into
foue partes . The first vwhereof
vvould containe three Bookes,
and the first Booke must shevv
vvhat a Prince is, hovv he vvas
first ordained, & to vvhat ende,
vvhat povver hee hath , vvho
gaue it him , & vvho may take
it from him. The second booke
muste declare vvhat Artes and
Sciēces are required in a Prince
that vvill gouerne vvell . The
A.3. - thirde

Of Counsells

thirde booke must shewe vvh^t morall vertues a Prince should haue, and hovv to vse them.

- 2 The seconde part must treat of the Princes education, of his Schoolemaysters, gouernours, seruantes, friendes and louers, of his house and householde: and therefore as the Phisitians doe deuide mannes lyfe into seauen ages or times, so this part would be likevvise deuided into seauen bookes, the first treating of the Princes infancie, the seconde of his childehood, and all the reast of hys other ages or times.

- 3 The thirde part vvoulde con-
tayne three Bookes, the one
vvhereof must shevve the dutie
of the subiect in euerye poynt
tovvards the Prince, and the o-
ther,

and Counselers.

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ther, the dutye of the Prince towards the subiect : vvhereby it shall plainly appeare, vvho is a Traytour, and vvho is a faythfull subiect, and also vvho is a iust Prince, & vvho is a tyrant.

4
The fourth part vvould shevv hovve a Prince ought to rule and raigne, so as he may escape and ouercome all diffycultes that may chaunce any maner of vvaye, vvhich are not easily knovvne, by cause they are diuers, according to the diuersitie of the kingdome, or principallitie : vvhich is gotten & possessed by one of these foure waies: That is, either by inheritaunce, by election, by forcyble conquest, or else by pollicye : it is requisite therefore that this part
be

Of Counsells

be deuided into foure Bookes,
euery one treating of ech of the
sayde kindes of possession.

5 Finallye, bicause the Prince
can not heare all, see all, knowe
all, and prouide for all, alone of
himselſe : the fiſt part therefore
ought to treat of the counsell,
and counſelers of a Prince tea-
ching him howe to make hys
counſell, and vvhath maner of
counſelers to chooſe, of vvhich
part mine Auſthor aboute nine
yeares paſt tooke vppon him to
vvrite, deuiding the ſayde part
into eyght bookes : but as yet
he neuer ſet forth more (that I
knowe) than the fyrſt Booke,
the effect vvhich hereafter fo-
lowvith.

VVhat a counsell is, and
hovv many counsells a
Prince ought
to haue.

A Counsell is an assembly of
vvise and discreete persons
chosen by the Prince to coun-
sell him in all his affayres, both
of peace and vvarre, in such sort
as he by their helpe maye go-
uerne hys Realme vvisclye,
and foresee all daungers that
may betyde, so as in all his do-
ings and enterprises, he maye
haue good successe, or at the
least, as little euill successe, and
as seldome as maye bee. And
though that the Counsell and
the Prince maketh in deede but

B.1. one

Of Counsell

one entyere thing , in that it hath but one heade vvchich is the Prince, yet it is necessarye that the saide counsell be deuidded into manye partes, vvchich though they haue dyuers offices , yet they shall make but one body, no more than the seuerall partes of mannes bodye, seruing to dyuers purposes. VVherefore it is meete, first to shevve hovve manye seuerall counsell

a Prince that vvil gouerne vvell ought to haue. And than to euerye one of those counsell, hovv many counsellors, hovv manye Presydents, hovv manye Secretaries , and hovv many Clarkes be needefull, and also vvhat qualities be requyred in those men , that they

and Counsellers.

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they may be able and sufficient to serue the turne. Also vvhat prerogatiues , preheminences, and authorities they ought to haue: Againe, hovv they ought to bee assembled , vvhere , in vvhat tyme, and vvhat houre, then vvhich matters ought to be first propounded, to vvhom the Bylls of remembraunce for dispatch and al other vvritings ought to bee delyuered , vvho ought to sollicit the matters, and hovve they should be entered into the bookes, and many such lyke things. Furthermore to shevve hovve one counsell ought to ansvvere another orderly, to the intent there be no confusion nor mingle mangle of matters. And lastly, to shevv

B.2. them

Of Counsells

them vvhhen they haue all determyned vppon some matter, hovve and in vvhat sort they shall make relacion thereof vn-to the Prince before they make any final resolution or conclusion. Followving then this order, mine author sayth , that if the Prince minde to gouerne his state vvell, and to dispatche manye matters speedilye , hee ought to haue seauen counsells euery one differing from other in affayres, offices , and in authoritie.

The Esche-
quer.

And first he beginneth vvith the counsell of reuenevves, not for that it is first by vvorthynesse , but (as I take it) for that it is first by order of nature , taking here perhaps the
Princes

and Counselers.

25

Princes reuenevves to bee the matter, vvithout the vvwhich nothing can be done, to vvwhich counsel belongeth these points here followving.

To gather vp his reuenevves.

To see that they bee not vva-
sted.

To encrease them by all con-
uenient meanes.

To consider from vvhence,
hovv and in vvhat tyne extra-
ordinary reuenevves maye bee
best leuyed, to appoint taskes,
and subfedics, tolles, and cus-
tomes, and to reforme them
vvhen they be eyther to much
or to little, vvithout damma-
ging the vveale publique, to a-
bridge superfluous, and to en-
crease necessary expences.

These thin-
ges belong
to our high
Courte of
Parlament.

The

Of Counsells

The priuie
counsell
which for
worthinesse
would be
first placed.

The seconde is the counsell of the state , vvhose office and dutie consisteth in these points here follovvng . First, to see vvwhether such officers and go-uernours as serue vnder the Prince as vvell in peacible as in vvarlike affayres, doe their du-tye or not . To knowve howve long their tyme of seruice endureth , vvhyther they ought to be chaunged or not, & vvho ought to be chosen to serue in their roomes. Moreouer, to see that all charges both ordinary and extraordinarie, as vvell for matters of peace , as also of vvarre , be payde in due tyme by vertue of their vvarrant directed to the counsell of the re-uenewes, vvwhich haue autho-ritie

and Counsellers.

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ritie to receyue, but not to disburse one penny vvithout speciall vvarrant from this counsell, vvwhich onely hath povver to distribute the Princes monney . Also to consider vvvyth vvhome cyther peace, vvarre, league, or truce, is to bee made. Agayne, vvvyth vvhome the Prince ought to ioyne in true, or fayned friendship, and hovv farre, hovve much, in vvhat sort, and at vvhat time, vvwhether secretelye or openly hee ought to ayde his friends. And therefore this counsell hauing so great matters in charge, deserueth vvell to bee the heade and chiefe of al the other counsells.

The thyrde counsell is for The coun-
matters

Of Counsell

sell of war,
whereof
Englande
hath most
neede.

matters of vvarre , and therefore mine author calleth it the counsell of vvarre, vvhose office is to see that the Prynces Tovvnes, Portes, & Frontiers, be vvell fortified , and to vnderstande the vvhole Arte and Discipline of vvarre, to the intent the Prince and his realme maye not oncly bee defended from all forreyne povver , but also get the victory of his enemies , vvith vvhome he shall hap to ioyne in battayle . And therefore this counsell besides being skilfull in Fortification, in taking of musters , in trayning of Souldiours, and in setting of battayles ought also to haue in prompe memory al the former vvarres of the Prince
and

and Counſelers.

29

and of his prediceſſors , and to knowve howve and vpon vvhat occaſion thoſe vvarres vv ere firſt begonne, follovv ed, ended, and vv hat ſucceſſe they had, and howve thoſe vvarres differed one from another by reaſon of tyme, and vv hat conditions of peace haue bene offered or receyued, & vpon vv hat cauſes. Alſo to conſider as vv ell the force of the enemy and of his allyes and confederates , as of the Prince and his confederates, and to compare them together , that they may knowve vv hyther they bee equall in povver , or that the one excelleth the other, & vv herin, as in men, armor, diſcipline, vittails, fame, credit, money, friends, al-

C.I.

lyes

Of Counsells

lyes and such lyke , vvythout due consideration of vvhiche things, he that beginneth anye vvarre , endeth the same for the most part to his great losse, shame, and reproche, and therefore hovv necessary this counsell is to a Prince , it is easie y-nough to see.

Purueyours The fourth counsell is for prouision of vittailles, and therefore it may be vvell called of vs the counsell of vittelers, or purueyours , vvwhose charge is to furnishe the vvhole state vvith vittailles both in time of peace, and vvarre. And therefore this counsell had neede to knowve euery part of the Countrie, and vvhat it is able to yeelde and to keepe bookes of remembrances
that

and Counselers.

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that maye shevve them at all tymes vvhat store of vittayle there is , and vvhat is lacking, vvhat commeth in , or goeth out by sea or by land,also from vvhence they are brought and vvhyther they are caryed , by vvhat vvaye, by vvhome , in vvhat sort, hovv much , and at vvhat tyme, and such like matters appertayning to their office . And to this counsell the Prince shall doe vvell to referre al matters touching lycences of carying out corne,or other vittayle, graunting lycence to no person to carrye oute of the realme any vittayle , vvithout the consent and aduise of thys counsel,vvherby the state shall not onely haue sufficient al-

C.2. vvayes

Of Counsells

vwayes for themselves, but also many tymes such aboundance as they may helpe their friends and louing neighbors, in their neede, vvh whereas contrariwise for lacke of this counsell hauing this authority, the realme many times suffereth great famine by meanes that a fevv couetous persons preferring their ovvne priuate lucre before the profite of the vvhole common vvealth, by money and friendship doe procure licences of the Prince, to cary out into forrein places that vittayle, vvh whereby the common vvealth at home should be susteyned. Yea, and many tymes for vile lucre sake and hope of greater gaine, doe rather relieue the enimies, than
the

and Counsellers.

33

the friendes of the state, vvhich through vnkindenesse by them conceyued causeth offence, yea and sometime breach of friendship. Moreouer for lack of this counsell, vvarres are made many times in Countries, vvheras no meate is to be had for man, or beast, so as the armye is no sooner in the felde, but it suffereth extreeme hunger, and is therby forced to returne immediately home agayne vvith shame ynough, or to make peace, or truce, eyther oute of tyme, or else vvith such conditions, as are not meete, nor honorable, vvhereby the Prince loseth his estimation amongst straungers, and getteth the hatred of his ovvne people. For

C.3.

tvvo

Of Counsellis

two things makes the people to loue the Prince, that is, to be defended from the oppression of the mightye, and to bee in league vvyth those Nations, vvithout vvhome they can not vvell traffique.

The common
place.

These
pointes also
doe belong
to our high
Courte of
Parlament.

The fift counsell is touching matters of lawe, vvwhose charge is to appoint as manye and as fewe officers as shall seeme requisite to minister iustice in ciuill causes throughout the vvhole state, and thys counsel must haue authority to make lawes, to repeale lawes, to reforme lawes, and to interpret lawes, for lack of vvwhich counsell great vvronges are suffered, and many disorders committed in all common vvealths
to

and Counselers.

35

to the great decay of the state,
and setting vp and aduauncing
of a fevv Lavveyers and aduo-
cates , vvhich in these dayes
may boldly rob and spoyle the
poore commons, vvithout any
feare of punishment or correc-
tion.

The sixt counsell is touching The kings
bench.
cryminall causes , and therfore
it may be called the counsell of
correction, thys counsell must
haue authoritie to iudge and
giue sentence of all crymes cō-
mitted any maner of vvay, and
to punishe the offenders accor-
ding to the lavves of the coun-
trie.

The scauenth counsell is tou- The White-
hal, or court
of rewards.
ching revvardes to be giuen by
the Prince to such as deserue,
and

Of Counsells

and therefore it maye be verye
vvell called the revvarding coun-
sell, for the office of this coun-
sell is to knowv vvho deserueth
vvell, and vvho doth not , and
to enforme the Prince thereof,
to the intent the Princes beni-
fites be not euill bestovved:and
therefore the Prince shall doe
vvell, not to giue any revvarde
vvythout the aduice of thys
counsell. And for lack of such a
counsell , vve see for the most
part in Princes Courts that the
vertuous sort vvwhich commo-
ly be no crauers, are sildome or
neuer considered , and such as
least deserue , are alvvayes best
revvarded . The Prince being
thus furnished vvith these dy-
uers counsels shall bee able to
dispatch

and Counselers.

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dispatch more matters , than
vvhen the vvhole charge lyeth
onely vpon tvvo or three per-
sons , by vvhose long delayes
the Princes subiectes are novve
forced to consume themselues
in continuall vvayting, for dis-
patch of businesse , and yet as
mine author sayth, the ambiti-
on and couetousnesse of some
counselers is such , as they can
not suffer to haue any partiners
in their doings , bicause they
vvill haue all the honor, and all
the gayne to themselues, esteem-
ing more their ovvne priuate
lucre , than the profite of the
common vvealth, vvhich kinde
of men are vnmete to be coun-
sellers , bee they neuer so vvise.
And to the intent that these

D.I. seauen

Of Counsell

seauen counsell before mentioned , may not be reduced all to one , in such sort as two or three persons should rule all, as commonlye is seene in most places now a dayes. It is requisite therefore that no counseler be suffred to be of diuers counsell at once , but to tende one alone , meddling vvith no matters of any other counsell , but onely vvith those , vvich appertayneth to that counsell, vvherevnto hee is called . But nowve , to order these seauen counsell rightly, it vvere needefull to vvryte seauen Bookes, declaring al the particuler parts and circumstaunces that belong vnto euery one of the said counsell, but for so much as it vvere
a su-

and Counselers.

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a superfluous thing to repeate in euery one of those bokes, all the qualities that be requisite in those counselors that are to bee admytted into any of the fore-sayde counsells, and speciallye such qualities, not differing verrye much one from another. I thought it best therefore to spende this booke in making one discourse of that matter for all, vvhich here follovveth.

VVhat a counseler is,
and vvhat qualities
he ought to
haue.

A Counseler is a sufficiēt person, chosen by the Prince,
D.2. meete

Of Counsells

meete to serue in some one of the foresaide counsels, and able to discharge hys dutie therein. In vvvhich definition tvvo thinges are to be considered, that is, the sufficientcie of the manne, and the choyse of the Prince, of both vvvhich things vve minde to speake : but first of the sufficientcy of the manne , vvvhich consisteth in tvvo poynts, that is, in the qualities of the mind, and in the qualities of the bodye.

The qualities of the minde requisite in anye counseler in generall, are in number as mine Author sayth. xv. that is,

- 1 To be vvise.
 - 2 To be eloquent.
 - 3 To speake dyuers languages.
- To

and Counsellers.

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- | | |
|--|----|
| To be a good Hystoriographer. | 4 |
| To be a good Morall Philosopher. | 5 |
| To be politique. | 6 |
| To be a traueler. | 7 |
| To knowve the force as vvell of
hys Prince, as of his enymies
and neyghbours. | 8 |
| To loue hys common vvealth,
and to preferre the profite, and
honor thereof before his ovvne
gaine and estimation. | 9 |
| To haue a right iudgement in
all thinges vvithout partialitie,
esteeming honestie and truthe
more than friende or kinsman,
and to be no maintainer of any
sect or faction, vvwhich be pe-
rillous members in anye com-
mon vvealth. | 10 |
| To be iust in correcting the
D.3. euill | 11 |

Of Counsells

euill vvithout rygour , and in
revvarding the good according
to their due desertes.

12 To be liberall.

13 To be beneficiall tovwards his
common vvealth.

14 To be affable, that is to saye,
courteous and gentle , in hys
speech and behauieur tovwards
all sortes of men , both poore
and ryche.

15 And finally, to haue a noble,
stovvte , couragious, and con-
stant minde, not fearing to lose
both lyfe and goodes for the
truth sake. All vvwhich qualities
mine author might easily haue
reduced into these fiue generall
kindes : that is, Prudence, Scy-
ence , Iustice , Fortytude, and
Temperaunce. For vnder Pru-
dence

and Counselers.

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dence are comprehended the first, the sixt, seauenth, & eyght quality, for there is, *PRVDENTIA*, *MONASTICA*, *DOMESTICA*, and *POLITICA*. The first vvherof, teacheth a man to gouerne himselfe, leading a sole lyfe, the seconde, to gouerne a familye, and the third, to rule a common vveth, vvwhich requireth suche pollicie and experience as he talketh of. Vnder Science may be comprehended the seconde, the thirde, the fourth, and fift qualitie: and vnder Iustice, the ninth, tenth, leauenth, tvvelveth, & thirteenth qualitie: vnder Temperaunce, the fourteenth: and vnder Fortitude the fifteenth, and manye others, vvwhich mine Author as I suppose leaueth out of purpose,

Of Counsells

pose , thinking these sufficient
(as I take it) yea, and perhaps
more than are to bee founde in
some counselors in these daies,
and therefore though I haue a
good vvill to treat of these
thinges in another order , yet
for his sake that delyuered mee
the booke, I vvill follovv mine
Authors order , briefly decla-
ring the vses of the foresayde
fifteene qualityes , and vvhat
causes mooued hym to thinke
them most necessary for a coun-
seler, & finally hovv the Prince
shall knowve by tryall, and not
by relation, vvwhether his coun-
seler hath such qualities or not:
VVherby it seemeth that mine
Author supposeth, the Prince
to bee endued vvvyth all these
qualities

and Counselers.

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qualities hymselfe , for other-
vvise I see not hovv he should
bee able ryghtlye to iudge of
them.

VVell then the first qualitie *A liuely*
is, as he sayth, to haue a quicke *wytte.*
and liuely vvytte, vvwhich is the
beginning, meane, and ende of
all noble enterprises , vvithout
the vvwhich all other vertues do
little preuayle . For vve see by
experience that the rude vvytte
vvith great labor & dilygence,
sildome or neuer , attayneth to
that knowvledge or iudgement,
vvwhich the fine vvyt getteth in
short space, & vvith little paine.
Neyther doe rude vvyttes euer
attempt anye vvorthye enter-
prise : vvherefore to haue a fine
vvyt is a thing most needefull

E.I.

to

Of Counsell

to anye counseler . VVhiche, vvhyther he hath so or not, the Prince ought to knowve by tryall of the manne, and not by information or relation of others. And such tryall is to bee had tvvo maner of vvayes , by his vvordes, and by his deedes, for the vvise man commonlye doth not talke of such matters, nor in such sort as the common sort doth , neyther be his vvordes or phraſes lyke vnto theirs, his talke is graue and vvise; hee is readye in aunſvvering , and quick of vnderſtanding, and eaſie to bee vnderſtoode in declaring any thing. He is pleaſaunt in matters of ſport, and in earneſt cauſes graue and circumſpect . And finally, he is able to
vſe

and Counselers.

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vs etalke meete for all compa-
nyes, vvythout breaking the
bounds of comelynesse, due to
his calling. Nowe as touching
his deedes they are knowne by
his actiuitie, and by hys dily-
gence vsed in reading, vwriting,
and conferring vwith vwise and
learned men, and in praetising
vvyth men of experience, and
vwith men of dyuers nations.
For vwith suche the vwise man
vwill acquaint himselfe, to the
intent he may know all things
and bee ignoraunt in nothing.
But the dull and grosse vvytted
man doth cleane contrarye, for
he giuing himselfe to sloth, to
belly cheere, to levyd company
and to vaine pastimes, abhor-
reth the companye of the vwise

E.2.

and

Of Counsellis

and learned sort & vtterly neglected all vertuous exercyses.

Eloquence. The seconde qualitie, meete for a counseler is to be eloquent to the intent he may be able to persvade or disvade, to accuse, or to defende, to prayse, or disprayse, to reioyce or to sorrow vwith others, to entertaine Ambassadors vvyth pleasaunt talke or to doe any message, or Ambassage from the Prince, also in time of tumults and commotions; the eloquent counseler vwith his authority & good persvasion, maye cause much quietnesse, and profite the common vvealth dyuers vvayes. Nowve vvhyther the counseler be eloquent or not, the Prince maye knowve partlye by hys vvords,

and Counselers.

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vvords, and partly by his deeds,
for by oft talking vvith him, he
shall knowv his order of speech,
vvhat vvordes and phrascs hee
commonly vscth, and he maye
cause hym to tell some tale or
Hystorye, marking him howe
he beginneth, deuideth, follo-
vvith, and endeth the same, and
vvith vvhat grace & proprietie
of vvords, also howv he delateth
or abridgeth the same. Againe,
the Prince may knowv hym by
his deeds, by considering vvhat
Maysters he had to teache him,
also vvhat diligence he vsed, &
vvhat time he emploied therin,
vvhyther he made anye vvorke
or not, & to examine the same:
or sayning that hee hath some
Ambassage of importaunce to

E.3. sende

Of Counsellis

sende somevvhyther, he maye
cause him to endight the same
in his ovvne presence.

Knowledge
of tongucs.

The thirde qualitie of the
minde meete for a counseler is
to haue dyuers tongues and
languages, to the intent that
vvhen hee is sent in message to
any forreyne Prince, hee shall
not neede the helpe of anye
trufsheman or Interpreter to
tell his tale. VVhich Interpre-
ters many tymes by adding to,
or taking fro, doe hynder the
same, or else do not tell it vvith
such grace, nor to so good pur-
pose as he hymselfe vvoulde.
Moreouer, by hauing the tong
of the countrie, vvhere he ser-
ueth, he shall the better vnder-
stande the maners, rightes, and
customes,

and Counselers.

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customs, and all the secretes of the same, and Spies vwill more gladly conferre vwith him, and reueale to hym alone, that vvwhich they vvould not vvyl-lingly doe in the presence of a thirde person . And the Prince of the country vvill delight the more in him , vvho sometyme shall haue occasion to declare some secret to the Ambassador or messenger, vvwhich he vvould haue no other man to knowve, therefore hovv needefull thys qualitie is to a counseler , it is easie ynough to see , vvhiche qualiry, vvhither the counseler hath or not , the Prince ought to knowve by tryall, as by making him to vvryte or speake some thing in those tongues vvherein

Of Counsellors

vvherein he should be skilfull.
The tongues necessarye for an
English counseler in mine opi-
on are these. Latten, Frenche,
Spannishe, Flemmishe, highe
Dutch, and Italian, for vvith all
these nations vvec haue manye
tymes to doe.

Reading of
Hystories.

The fourth qualitie belon-
ging to a counseler, is to bee a
good Hystoriographer, that is
to saye, to haue seene and redde
as vvell the Hystories of olde
tymes as of late dayes, and spe-
cially those that appertayne to
the state vvherein he serueth.
And also the Hystories of the
friends, neighbors, and enimies
to the same state, vvhereby
more knowvledge and experi-
ence is to bee gotten, than by
any

and Counſelers.

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any thing elſe, for Hyſtories be no other thing but a collection of dyuers experiences of all tymes, and of all ſortes of men. VVherfore, a dyligent Hyſtorigrapher, vvvhich readeth to further his knowvledge, and not to pleaſe his eares, can be ignorant in nothing that appertaines to gouernement, be it in time of vvarre or peace. For he ſeeth & knowveth al the ſleytes & fine pollicies that hath beene vſed in eyther of both tymes. Neyther is it poſſible for anye man, liue hee neuer ſo long, to get by hys ovvne experience, the tenth part of that knowvledge vvvhich a diligent reader of Hyſtories ſhall obtayne in ſevve yeres. For vvhereas the

F.i. man

Of Counfells

man of experience in his tyme perhaps seeth a small number of battayles, skirmishes, besiegings, sedicions, tumults, breaking vp of vvarres, leagues, peaces, and such lyke matters, the Hystoriographer knowveth an infinite number of such things, together vvith the beginning, proceeding, and ending of the same. Also he knowveth the best vvaye of gouernment, belonging to a common vvealth or kingdome, and hovve to maintaine the same, and to encrease the povver thereof, by reason that he hath redde of so manye common vvealthes and kingdomes, and knowvne by vvhat meanes they haue increased or decayed, therefore nothing is
more

and Counsellers.

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more necessary for a counseler, than to bee a diligent reader of Hyſtories, vvhich vvhither he be ſo or not, the Prince maye knowe by tryall, as by asking hym ſuche questions as theſe are, how many chaunges hath the crowne of England, Fraunce or Spayne ſuffred? vvhath families hath poſſeſſed it? by vvhath meanes, how long time, and vvhath vvas the cauſe of euerye chaunge? and howe manye of euerye familye raygned, and vvhich of thoſe had moſt or leaſt fame? how many vvarres euery one of them made, for vvhath cauſe, vwith vvhom, and in vvhath time, and howe ſuch vvarres vvere firſt begonne and ended? alſo to aſke hym vvhath

F.2. notable

Of Counsell

notable battayles hath beene cuer since the birth of Christ, eyther in Englande, Fraunce, or Spayne, vvho hath vvonne, & vvho hath lost, & to shevv the cause thereof. Also to aske him vvhat seditions and tumultes hath bene in any of those coũtries, vpon vvhat cause such seditions vvere made, vvhat hurt or good they dyd, and hovve they vvere appeased, to vvhich and such like questions, if the counseler can aunsvvere readily, there is no doubt but he is a good Hyystoriographer, and can vse hys knowvledge to good purpose, vvhen tyme and occasion shall serue.

Morall

The fiftē qualitie is to bee a
Philosophy. good Morall Phylosopher, to
the

and Counselers.

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the intent hee maye perfite-
ly knowe the ende and true vse of
euery vertue, vvhetherin it consisteth,
and howe farre it extendeth, for lack of
vvhich knowledge, many doe accompt
rudenesse & ignoraunce to be plaine
dealing, pride to be magnanimitie,
modesty to be cowardlynesse, and
foolishe hardinesse to be fortitude,
and to be short, doe take vertue for
vice, & vice for vertue. In all counsells
and deliberatiōs, the first thing that
men doe consult of, is vvhither the
thing they go about, be honest or not,
& if the counseler knoweth not
vvhetherin honestie consisteth, and
howe farre it extendeth, he can neyther
make vwise deliberation, nor good
resolution.

F.3

Of Counsellis

solution. Moreouer, in appoin-
 ting offices to meete persons, &
 in revwarding euery man accor-
 ding to his deserts, the knowv-
 ledge of the vertues is so neces-
 sary, as a counseler can not bee
 vvithout it. The Prince maye
 knowve vvhyther his counseler
 hath suche knowvledge or not,
 by demaunding hym such lyke
 questions as these are. VVhat
 things bee needefull to the ob-
 taining of the chiefe felicitie in
 thys lyfe? vvhat is Prudence?
 vvhat is Iustice? vvhat is For-
 tytude? and vvhat partes they
 haue, vvhyther it be better for
 a Prince to be couetous or pro-
 digall, and vvwhich of those ex-
 treemes dravve nighest to the
 vertue of liberalitie? vvherein
 cle-

and Counselers.

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clemency doth consist, & vvhi-
ther it be better to be ouer mer-
cyfull, or to seuerer, and howve
many vvayes a man maye of-
fend against Fortitude? Againe,
vvherein magnificencie doth
consist, and vvhat contraries it
hath. The Prince also maye
knowve hys councelers skill in
these matters by hys doinges,
studies, and trade of lyfe.

The sixt qualitie is to be pol-
litike, that is to say, to be prac-
tised in gouvernement, both in
time of peace and vvarre, for
the office of the Prince, is not
onely to gouerne vvell his peo-
ple, but also to defende them
from all violence. And there-
fore the counseler had neede to
be skilfull as vvell in martiall
affayres,

Pollicie.

Of Counsells

affayres , as in cyuill gouernement. And first as touching cyuill gouernmēt, he must knowv that euerye common vvealth consisteth of tvvo parts, vvhich I maye call here for difference sake, the body and the soule. By the body I meane the habitations or dvvelling places, vvherin the aire first is to be considered , as vvhyther it bee hote, colde , or temperate , then the scyte thereof, as vvhyther it be neare to some Sea , running streame, or standing vvater, also vvhyther such scyte be high, or lovv, dry, or moylt, in fruitfull soyle or barren ground, nighe to, or farre fro the enimie. Also to vvhat vvindes it is most subiect , for according to these
 confi-

and Counselers.

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considerations , the streetes in Cities or towvnes ought to bee made, vvyde, or strayte, open to one vvinde, and shut to another, according as they be good or hurtfull , the market places aptly placed , and the houses built in such order, and hauing such shape, as is most necessary and conuenient to serue al purposes. VVherby it seemeth by my Authors vvordes , that the counseler had neede to be skilfull in Architecture, vvwhich in deede is a noble Scyence , and necessary to all men , but speciallye to counsellers and Magistrates . By the sovvle of the common vvealth , is ment the gouernmēt of the same, vvherin first is to bee considered , of

G.I. vvhat

Of Counsellis

vvhat maner of forme it is , as vvhither it be gouerned by one onely King or Prince , as the Kingdome of Spayne , Portugale, and Castyll : or by noble men onely, as Venice novve, or as Sparta in olde tyme past : or by the cōmon people , as novv in oure dayes the Cyties of Svvyzerland , called the Cantovvnes: or by the king and his nobles , as the Kyngdome of Denmarke, and as Rome vvhen it had kings: or by the king and his commons, as for a certayne tyme the Empire of Persia vvas gouerned : or by Nobles and commons togyther , as Rome after they had put dovvn there kings and chofen Confulls and Trybunes : & the lyke gouernment

and Counſelers.

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ment vvas in Lacedemony and Athens, & in our tyme in Flo-
raunce and Seane , and dyuers
other common vvealths in Ita-
lie : or vvhither it be gouerned
by a king, his nobles, and com-
mons, all three together , as the
Empire of Almanie , the king-
dome of Pollonia, of Arragon
in Spayne , and alſo of Eng-
lande , and in euerye one of
theſe gouernments , the coun-
ſeler ought to knowe howe,
and by vvhat meanes the ſtate
may be preſerued , augmented,
or decayed, vvhat perilles maye
happe, and howv the ſame may
be remedyed vvith leſt trouble,
coſte , and expences . VVhat
lawes and Magiſtrats are moſt
meete and neceſſary for euerye

G.2. gouern-

Of Counsells

gouernment. For it is vnpossible for the counseler that is ignorant in these thinges, to remedy all such disorders as may chaunce. Neyther can he counsell his Prince howe to behaue himselfe vvyth this friende, or that confederate, vvyth this or that foe, nor knowe how much the one may further hym, and the other hynder hym. Thus muche of cyuill gouernment. Nowe as touching Marshall affayres or vvarlyke pollicye, the counseler ought to knowe such circumstaunces as doe belong to a good Souldiour, Capitaine, or generall, as howe Souldyours are to be leauied, mustred, and armed, howe they should Marche, howe to be encamped,

and Counselers.

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camped, howv to fight , howve to retire, howv a Campe should be fortified, and howv a tovvne should be besieged or defended, and finally, all such thinges as doe appertayne to the Arte of vvarre . But novve to knowve vvhyther the counseler be thus pollitike or not, the prince may trye hym , by asking these or such like questions here following . As vvhyther it be better to builde a Citie in a fertyll or barren soyle? vvwhich vvinds are to be barred from an habitation or dvvelling place? howv manye vvayes a state or kingdom is vvoont to bee lost ? by vvhat meanes the good gouernement of anye common vvealth is decayed ? of vvhat

G.3.

causes

Of Counfells

causes seditions and rebellions doe spring ? howv they may be oppressed ? vvherin the povver of a Prince doth consist ? vvhyther in riches, or in good Souldiers ? howv manye vvaies one Prince vvythout flaunder may make vvarre vppon another Prince, that hath giuen no iust occasion therevnto ? vvhyther it be better to tarie the enemye at our ovvne home, or to seeke him at his home, howv manye things a Prince hath to consider before he enter into vvarre ? and being entred, howve many before he fight anye battayle ? and hauing fought, howv many things he hath to consider after he hath vvonne or lost the victorie. To vvhich and such like
que-

and Counsellers.

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questions, if he can rightly and readily ansvvere, he is vvorthy to bee called a pollitike counseler.

The seauenth qualitie belonging to a counseler is to bee a ^{Traueling} of Coun-
traueler and to haue seene not tries.
onely all the terretories of hys Prince , but also manye other Countries, and specially those that bee eyther friendes or enemies to his prince, so as he may vnderstande their gouernment both in time of peace & vvarre, and their reuenevves as vvell ordinary as extraordinary: also hovv the Princes and the subiects of those countries do like one of another, and hovv they agree or disagree amongst themselves , of vvhat povver they

Of Counsellors

they be, vvhhat Forts & Holdes they haue, howv they are maintayned and kept, vvhhat trade of lyfe and traffique the common people vseth, of vvhhat nature, disposition and manners they be, and such like things necessarie to be knowvne . VVythout consideration of vvhich things, vvhoso traueleth into straunge countries spendeth his tyme in vayne, as the yong Napolitan that had bene at Rome, and at hys returne, coulde render no good accompt of his trauelle to the Prince that gaue him leaue to go abroad, but onely howv he had seene vvalles, tovvvers, cyties, tovvnes, hylles, dales, floudes, trees, and busshes, of all vvhich things he had plenty at home,

and Counselers.

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home, and therefore vvas commaunded by the Prince from thencefoorth to tarye styll at home . But the vvise traueiler obserueth such profitable thinges as are before tolde, and many more very diligently, & by comparing the straunge countries first one vvith another, & then all those vvith his ovvne, is able to iudge of the gouernment of hys ovvne countrie, hovve good or euill it is , and knowveth hovv to roote out all abuses and euill customes, and to plant good in their stead. He knowveth hovve to entertayne straungers, be they friends, foes, or nevutralls, by reason that he is acquainted vvith their manners and conditions , & can apply

H.1. ply

Of Counsells

ply his vvordes, vvrying, and deedes , according as the condition of the men, of the matter, of the tyme , and of the Prince shall require , knowving both the commodities and discommodities of tymes and places, vvherby the Prince or his counsell can neuer bee deceyed in any thing , by vvrong or false information of straungers, neyther shall hee neede to depende vppon their iudgement . The Prince to knowve vvhyther his counseler bee a traueiler , and vvhat profite hee hath reaped thereby , maye question vvyth him in this vvise. Hovv many myles contayneth the length of Fraunce, and hovv many in breadth , and also hovv manye
in

and Counsellers.

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in circute, vvhat notable cities,
tovvnes , and Vniuersities it
hath ? & specially vvhat holdes
and Fortes ? And on vvhat side
the countrie is most easie to be
inuaded , vvhat floudes and
streames it hath that bee not
vvadable , vvhat vertue or vice
is most proper or peculyer to
the French men , and in vvhat
thing they most delyght ? also
vvherin the nobilitie of Fraunce
differeth from the nobilitie of
Englande ? and vvherein their
people differ from oures ? howv
much their buildings differ frō
oures ? vvwhich of the tvvo kings
of Fraunce and Englande hath
most absolute povver ? vppon
vvhat occasions and howve the
people of Fraunce is vvont to

H.2.

vwith-

Of Counsells

vvithstande their prince? And
 vvherein their seruitude diffe-
 reth from the seruitude of our
 people? howv the king of Fraunce
 leauyeth his Souldiours? howv
 they are exercised and trayned?
 And in marching through the
 countrie, vvhat order is taken
 and vvhat prouision is made,
 that the poore countriemen be
 not spoyled nor molested by
 them? The like questions may
 bec demanded of anye other
 countrie, or vvvythout asking
 these questions it is easie to per-
 ceyue by his ovvne talke of the
 countries vvhere he hath bene,
 vvhat profite he hath gathered.
 For if he be alvvayes ready ey-
 therto condemne straunge cou-
 tries and their customes or go-
 uernment

and Counselers.

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uernment and to prayse hys
ovvne, or else contraryvvise to
prayse the others & to dispraise
his ovvne, vvithout due consi-
deration or comparison had:
it is an euident signe that hee
maketh no distinctiō of things,
and vvhereas is no distinction,
there can be no choyse or elec-
tion, and vvhere election vvan-
teth, there is no vvisedome nor
iudgement, and vvhere vvise-
dome and iudgement fayleth,
all things fayle.

The cyght qualitie requisite Knowledge
in a counseler, is to knowve as of the Prin-
vvell the strength and povver ces power.
of his Prince, as also of his al-
lyes, friendes, neyghbours and
enimies, for vvant of vvhich
knowvledge, manye tymes the
H.3. Prince

Of Counsells

Prince is counseled to vvarre
vvith those, vvith vvhome he
ought to lyue in peace, and to
make peace vvith those vvith
vvhome he should rather haue
vvarres. And the Prince maye
try the knowvledge of his couñ-
seler in thys behalfe, by asking
him these or suche lyke questi-
ons. As vvhat ordinary or ex-
traordinarye reuenevves hys
friendes or foes haue? vvherof
such reuenevves do rise? vvhat
Souldyours they are able to
make? hovve they are leauyed,
armed, trayned, and exercysed?
vvhat Captaines they haue? of
vvhat thinges necessarye to
maintaine vvarre, their coun-
tries haue eyther plentye or
lack? and such lyke.

The

and Counselers.

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The ninth qualitie requisite in a counfeler, is to loue hys common vvealth, so vvell as he doth alvvayes regarde the profite and honour thereof, more than his ovvne, esteeming in respecte thereof, neyther hys goodes, dignitie, lyfe, nor fame, vvithout vvwhich loue, he can neuer bee so carefull, for the preseruacion of hys common vvealth, nor so diligent in doing his ductie, as hee ought to be, vvwhich loue or zeale, vvhyther the counfeler hath or not, the Prince may knowve, partly by hearing his opinion in such matters as doe redovvnde more to the Princes peculier profite, than eyther to his honor, or to to the profite of the common vvealth.

The zeale
and true
loue of the
Counfeler
towards
his country.

Of Counsell

vvealth . As vvhyther vppon
 some fained cause, it be good to
 breake a league or truce made
 vvith some Prince ? or to de-
 pryue Cyties or tovvnes of
 their liberies ? or to charge the
 commons vvith some extreme
 subſedie, taske, loane, beneuo-
 lence and ſuch like. And partly
 he may know him by his con-
 ditions. For if he be eyther an
 hypocrite or diſſembler, a coue-
 tous perſon or a flatterer, ready
 to vpholde the Princes vvordes
 vvith yea and naye , affirming
 alvvayes that the Prince maye
 doe vvhat him liſteth, and that
 he can not erre it is vnpoſſible
 that ſuch one can loue his com-
 mon vvealth , but muſt needes
 be a great enemy therunto.

The

and Counselers.

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The tenth qualitie is to haue a right iudgement in all things, ^{Vpright} iudgement. and to heare al men indifferent-lye, vvythout partialitie or respect of persons, and to thinke hymselfe more bounde to right and Iustice, than to Lorde or Duke, to friend or kinsmā. For the counseler is a publique person, and therefore ought to bee voyde of all priuate affection, louing in general all good men for their vertue, and hating the euil in like maner for their vice, of vvhath cuntrye or nation soeuer they be. For though there be many nations, yet there bee but tvyo sortes of people, that is eyther good or euil. Notvvithstanding of those that be good, vvee are bounde both by Gods

I. i. lawe

Of Counsells

lawe and mans lawe , to pre-
ferre in some respectes, our Pa-
rents , kinsmen , and country-
men before others. The Prince
may knowv vvhither his coun-
seler hath this qualitie or not,
by obseruing his doings , and
marking vvhyther he be a pro-
curer of fauour, lyuing, office,
or dignitie for his kinsmen, or
others that bee not vvorthye
therof. Agayne, vvhyther he be
factious, that is to saye, fauou-
ring and maintayning one part
of the state more than another,
as the Nobles more than the
cōmons or contraryvvise. And
vvhyther he vpholdeth the Ec-
clesiasticall povver , more than
the lay povver, vvwhich kinde of
men are perillous in all commō
vvealthes.

and Counselers.

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vvealthes. For so as their facti-
on may stande , be it by right,
or by vvrong, they care not
vvhat mischiefe they doe , ha-
uing no regarde to the commō
vvealth at al. Neither is it good
for a Prince to admyt into hys
counsell , anye man that hath
beene knowvne to bee an open
enimie to any dominion, Pro-
uince, Citie, or tovvne, that is
subiect to the Prince, or to suf-
fer any such to beare rule in a-
ny of those places. For man be-
ing naturallie vindicatiue , ha-
uing once gotten povver to ex-
ecute his desire , vvill vndoub-
tedly vvhen he seeth his tyme,
vnder the colour of Iustice, re-
uenge his priuate vvrong, vvith
the publicke svvorde. Neyther

I.2.

is

Of Counsellis

is it good to put anye man that is the heade of any faction , in authoritie , or to make more accompt of hym , than of the contrarye part : for that breedeth disdayne and hatred in that part, not onely against the partie so promoted , but also against the Princes ovvne persō, for his partialitie shewved therein , vvhich thing hath brought many Princes to their destruction.

Iustice.

The leauenth qualitie belonging to a counseler , is to bee a iust man, vvylling to giue euery man his ovvne, according to his desertes , that is to saye, to chastice the euill vwithout crueltye , and to rewarde the good vwith such rewarde as is due to their

and Counſelers.

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their vertue. The iuſt manne is faythfull and perſite in all hys doings, and therefore is beloued of both yong and olde, of rich and poore, and all men dare boldly commyt to hym themſelues, their vvyues, their children, their goods, their honor, and their lyues . The Prince may knowve vwhyther his counſeler be a iuſt man or not, partly by his vvordes, and partly by his deeds, for his talke is graue, vvife, and full of truth, he alvvayes ſpeakerh plainely, euen as his heart thinketh, he is no ratler, no tale teller, nor carryer of newes, no euyll reporter, ſlaunderer, or backbyter of the abſent . For to carry tales proceedeth of a vile and baſe courage,

I.3.

Of Counsells

rage , and they that vse it , are neuer faythfull. He is no hypocrite or dissembler, nor double of hys tongue , speaking one thing in presence , and another thing in absence, neyther vvill he report anye thing out of the mouth of hearesay , that lying Author, but onely that vvwhich he hath scene or felt, he reprocueth the euill courteously , and praiseth the good vvithout flatterie, for he vvill neyther flatter nor be flattered , yea rather hee louing nothing but truth , hateth all lyers , flatterers , scoffers, iesters, & raylers. Novv as touching the deedes of the iust man , they are easily knowvne. For hee lyueth quietly contented vvyrh hys ovvne , seeking neyther

and Counselers.

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neyther honour nor ryches by any other meanes than by vertue as trauell : VVhereby if he did not seeke preferment , hee should shevve hymselfe to bee vniust. For as it is ambition in him that is vnvvorthy to seeke honour or dignitie by fauour, money , or by anye other vnlavvful meanes, so is it covvardlynesse of courage in hym that vvell deserueth, not to seeke by vertuous meane hys due reyyard. Moreouer, the iust mans house and family is vvell ordered , and his seruaunts are modest , he dealeth vvith all men iustly , he payeth his dettes truly , he is no maintainer of busie bodies, nor byer of other mens dettes or doubtfull tytes, he is
no

Of Counsells

no vvrangler in the lavve , but fleeth all occasion of sute, contention, quarrell,stryfe,& sedition , and finallye he is louing, kinde, faythfull,friendly,charitable, and thankefull. VVhich vertues together vvith the rest before mentioned , vvho so hath not,is no perfite iust man.

Liberalitie.

The twelth qualitie requisite in a counseler is to bee liberall, that is neyther to be couetous, nor yet prodigall,but to vse the meane betvvixt them bothe, vvhereby hee shall procure the loue and good vvill of the people,vvhereas the couetous counseler is hated of all men . For he hath al things to be solde, in so much as hee vvill neyther heare suters nor speake for suters

and Counselers.

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ters vvithout revvarde, & such one vvith money is easily corrupted, to betraye both Prince and Countrie, so as he maye doe it couertly and safely, he is also readie at all times, to agree to the confiscation of another mans goodes, be it by right or by vvrong, bicause his parte is therein. Againe, the prodygall couñseler on the other side vvith vvastfull spending, by little and little consumeth himselfe, and so looseth his reputation, and at length becommeth as euill or vvorse than the couetous counseler. The Prince maye knowve vvhyther his counseler be liberall, couetous, or prodygall by his doings, for if he bee lyberall, he keepeth good hos-

K.I. pitalitie,

Of Counsell

pitalitie , and he is good to the poore, and readie to relieue the necessitie of such as vwant , as in helping vvyth hys money and friendship to bestovve honest maydes in mariage , to redeeme poore prisoners and captiues, and also to pay the dettes of his honest friendes , that are falne into decaye , and to helpe such as are like to deserue yvell of the common vvealth. But if he be couetous he doth none of these thinges , for all is little y-nough for himselfe, hath he neuer so much, he lyueth miserablye scratching all to himselfe, and in any seruice of the Prince seeketh his ovvne gaine, & not the honor of his Prince, or the profite of the common vvealth,
he

and Counselers.

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he is euer crauing of the Prince
and putting in billes of remem-
braunce eyther for himselfe, or
for some of hys . Agayne, the
prodigall counseler vvasteth his
substaunce in making superflu-
ous bankets, in gaye and costly
apparel, in Iustings, Torneis, in
Musike, dauncing, on Havvkes
and Hovvndes , on flatterers,
iesters, and scoffers, and in kee-
ping a rable of ydle seruauntes
vvithout any purpose , vvhich
things vvhen hee is no lenger
able to maintayne vvith his
ovvn goods, then he is ready to
take of other mens, and spareth
not to rob both Prince & com-
mon vvealth, so as he may haue
vvherevvith to feede his vaine
delightes. VVhereby it appea-
K.2. reth

Of Counfells

reth that both the couetous & prodigall counfeler haue regard onely to themfelues, and not to the Prince, or to the common vvealth. But the lyberall counfeler contraryvwise regardeth onely the profite and honor of his Prince, and therefore it is the Princes part to make much of fuch, and to enriche them by giuing them both lands, fees, & offices, to the intent that they hauing fufficient to maintaine their callings, neede not to feke any bie meanes to enrich themfelues, and thereby fayle in doing their dutie eyther tovwards him, or the common vvealth.

Beneficial-
nelle.

The thirteenth quality requifite in a counfeler, is to be beneficiall to his countrie, vvhich
vertue

and Counselers.

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vertue diffreth from liberality, for liberallitie consisteth in gyuing money or moneys vvorth as it ought to be giuen. But beneficialnesse, called in Latten **BENEFICENTIA**, consisteth in doing good turnes and friendly pleasures, as in helping the cōmon vvealth and all the members thereof vvith his good aduise and counsell, by procuring the profite thereof, by comforting the afflicted, by praysing the good, and reproouing the euill, by defending, helping, and furthering vvvyth hys fauour, povver, and authoritie suche as deserue vvell, vvhyther they require it or not : finally, hee is alvvaies ready to traueile vvith the Prince & his officers about

K.3.

anye

Of Counsells

any thing that is needfull to the common vvealth, & therefore he is vvell vvorthy to bee called a father of the common vvealth. Thys man is easely knowvne to the Prince by hys doings, and therefore there needeth no further tryall to bee made of him.

Affability. The fourteenth quality requisite in a counseler, is to be affable, that is to saye, gentle and courteous both of speeche and behauour. For such one is easie to be spoken vvith, and receyueth both poore and riche vvith a chearefull countenance, ready at all times to heare their suites vvith a pacient and attentyue eare, vsing no frowning lookes, nor frowvard ansvvers,
he

and Counselers.

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he vvill not be offended vvith euery vvorde that shall be vnadvisedly spoken by the suter, or by his inferior . Neyther is he captious, taunting, disdainefull, scornefull , or ouer seuer in his speeche, he commendeth vvithout flatterie, and reprocueth vvithout villanye, he promiseth vvith grauitie , and denyeth vvith such curtesie, as the suter departeth thervvith vvell satysfied . The Prince shall knovve him by his conditions and behauour in this sort. For the courteous man is alvvayes merrie and pleasaunt , vvatchfull , diligent and circumspect, he goeth cleanly appparelled and loueth good companye , hee is not factious or partial, but vniuerfall

Of Counsellis

uerfall and friendly to all men, he is free of speech, and a great enemy to all dissimulation and hypocrisie, he is neyther coloricke nor provvde, for the coloricke man is vvhote and hastie, and vvil be offended vvith eue-ry little trifle, and in his fuerie vvyll neyther heare reason, nor speake reason. Againe, the provvde man is spitefull, and full of disdayne, esteeming no man but himselfe : vvherefore neyther of these men can be affable or courteous, and therfore vnmeete to be counselors.

The fiftenth quality requisite in a counselor is Fortytude, or valyaunt courage, vvhereby he is made stovvte and constant in the defence of right, & truth,
esteeming

and Counselers.

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esteeming in respect thereof,
neyther goods, lyfe nor honor.
Againe, he is able to beare both
prosperitie & aduersitie, vvith a
contented quiet minde, so as he
vvill not be puffed vp vvith the
one, nor oppressed vvith the o-
ther . For hee contynueth al-
vvayes one , and is Lorde of
himselſe, and therefore the more
able to prouide a ready remedy
for a soden miſchiefe , as vvell
in his ovvne behalfe , as alſo in
the behalfe of his Prince and
common vvealth in tyme of
ſeruice , and to encourage both
Prince and people vvhen neede
requyreth . The Prince ſhall
know him by tryal in this ma-
ner. For the valyant man is al-
vvayes an earnest louer of the
L.i. truth,

Of Counsells

truth, and a cruell enimie to all lyers, flatterers, scoffers, & tell tales, vvhich are the corruption and plague of all Courts, for by their meanes, the Prince syldome or neuer heareth the truth, vvhereas contrariwise, this man letteth not to speake the truth to the Prince at all tymes vvythout respect of fauour, or feare of displeasure, & boldly reprooueth the abhominable lyes of the false flatterers, for this man is no hypocrite or dissembler, but free of hys speech, and iust in his dealings. Let the Prince therefore chose suche a man to be of his counsell, and vtterly refuse him that is a friend to flatterers, and iesters, or that vvill hide the truth from

and Counselers.

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from him, let him also bevvare of the couetous man that loveth money, for he in hope of gaine vvill sell both his ovvne freedome and other mens. And finally let him neuer admyt into his counsell a covvarde, or faynt hearted man, that is not able to suffer the losse of things transitory, as of vvyfe, children, friendes, ryches, or suche lyke, but vvill mourne and sorrovve vvithout measure. For suche one is an effeminate and chyl-dishe person, and not vvorthy to serue in that place.

Hauing hytherto treated sufficiently of the qualities of the minde that bee requyred in a counseler, vvee come novve to speake somevvhat of the quali-

Qualities of
the body.

L.2.

ties

Of Counsell

ties of his body, not of all, but of those that be most needfull, to bee considered . VVhich as mine Author sayth be in number fiue, hys age, complexion, stature, making, and countenance, vvhich some call fauour or feauvter of the face.

Age.

And first as touching his age, as he had neede to bee no lesse then thirtie yeres olde, so is it not good, that he be more than three score, for before thirtie yeres of age, mans vvytte for the most part is not stayed, his experience is small, and his presumption great, he is hote and high minded. Againe, hee can not be so graue as he ought to be, neither vvill the people haue any great credit in hym, yea, rather

and Counselers.

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rather they vwill mourmour against him , and saye that hee is a verye yonge counseler . And therefore suche had more neede to go to schoole , and to follovv their learning , and to traueile coũtries to get languages , to follovve Campes and Courtes, and to see the diuersitie of customes, lavves, and gouernments, that they may haue knowvledge , iudgement , and good experience of things, before they bee made gouernours or rulers. Againe, vvhen a man passeth three score, then his memory faileth, his vvyttes vvan- der, and through his experience hee becommeth vvylfull fro- vvarde and obstinate, he is also colde in all his doings , and ra-

L.3. keth

Of Counsellors

kerh not occasion vwhen it is offered. Also his body is vveake and feeble , and not able to traueile in the Princes causes, and to be short , he is rather a burden and trouble to the Court, than othervvise. And therefore it is meete for such one to bee discharged of all seruice, and to be sent home revvarded by the Prince according to his deserts, to the intent he maye quietly spend the rest of his olde yeres at his ovvne home in the seruice of God . And yet I vvyll not denye , but that there bee some of greater age , vvhicke haue both liuely vvyttes and strong bodies, and that there be yong men also not arryuing to thirty yeres, that be both graue, vvise,

and Counſelers.

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vviſe, and of good experience. But I ſpeake of the moſt part, vvishing the Prince alvvayes to choſe thoſe that be of a meane age betvvixt both, vvwhich being neyther to greene nor yet to drye, are the ſtronger and the more ſtayed, and the better able to ſerue the Prince, both vvith ſpirit & body at al affayes, yea, and the people alſo vvyl con-
ceiue the better opiniõ of them, and haue them in the more reuerence.

The complexion of the counſeler, is a thing not lightly to be regarged, for moſt commonly as men bee eyther vvell or euill complexioned, ſo are they vvell or euill conditioned, of complexions there be foure kindes, that

Complexiõ.

Of Counsellors

that is, sanguine, coleric, flegmatic, and melancholic, of which mine Author only praiseth the sanguine & coleric, affirming such as be of that temperature, to be most serviceable, either with spirit, or body. For in such do naturally reign great gifts of the mind, as wit, memory, discourse, judgement, iustice, love, affability, fidelity, bountyfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude. Again, their bodies are healthfull, lively, nimble and strong, and able to endure trouble and paine, which kinde of men as they are partly knowne by their doings: so mine Author would haue the Prince also to consult with his learned Physicians

and Counſelers.

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ſitians touching that matter. For to iudge vvel of complexions is a thing chiefly appertaining to their Arte. And as for the flegmatique and melancolique perſo he vtterly reiecteth, ſaying, that the flegmatique man is rude, dull, heauie, and ignorant, and as for the melancolique man he is vvorſt of all the reſt, for he according to the nature of the humor, vvwhich chiefly raineth in him, is cold, drie, and earthly, and therefore baſe and vile of courage, heauy, ſorovvful, miſerable and vaine, an enemye to all noble deuifes and vvorthy enterpriſes, and ſo ſuperſtitious as thoſe vvwhich haue beene of that complexion haue vvith their dreames, falſe

M.1. viſions

Of Counsells

visions and foolishe fantasies, confounded all the religions of the vworld. And besides all this, the melancolique man is superstitious out of measure, and very enuie it selfe. For hee is a member of the frowvarde Planet *Saturnus*, vwhereof suche complexioned men are called *Saturny*, vvhicke bee most abhorred of the Astrologers; in so muche as *Apolonius Tianeus* did not let to vvryte, that hee once founde in the Citie of *Ephesus* a melancolique manne, vvho vvith his presence corrupted the vvhole Citie in suche sort, as there grevve thereof a most terrible pestilence: vvherfore suche complexioned men are farre vnmeete to bee of a
Princes

and Counselers.

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Princes counsell.

The meane stature in a coun-
feler is most laudable, that is to ^{Stature.} say, to be neyther to highe, nor yet to lovve, to fatte, nor yet to leane, for the long and leane man, and speciallye if he haue therevwith a long neck, is vtterly condemned of the Phylosophers, and iudged to bee some great lovvtte and good for nothing Againe, to be ouer lovve, is as great a deformitie, for the lovve men bee they neuer so vvise, yet the people vvill haue them in no reuerence at all, but ieast of them, and call them dvvarffes. And most commonly such little men be also hasty, provvde, and presumptuous: vvherefore it is good that the

M.2. Prince

Of Counsellors

Prince chose for his counsellors men of a meane stature , and therevwith neyther to fatte, nor yet to leane. For the ouer fatte man bellyed lyke a barrell , and likewise the ouer leane mā shaped like a dried Congre, besides gyuing vvyth their presence cause of laughter, are thervwith sildome seene to be seruiceable.

Proportion
of body.

The body of a counseler ought to bee vvell proportioned , hauing all his partes and members aunsvverable one to another in due proportion , so as there be no lack nor superfluitie in any part, as for example hys head maye not be to great, nor to small for his bodye , or one shoulder hier than another, nor one arme longer than another,
nor

and Counselers.

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nor he maye not by defect of nature be crooke backte, splaye footed, squynt eyde, or lacke an eye, an arme, a hande, a legge, or foote, or any other part, nor likevvise haue more than hee ought to haue, for such defects of the bodye as come not by misfortune, but proceede eyther of the vvant or superfluitie of nature, do betoken great imperfections of the minde, vvwhich hath bene so much obserued of the naturall Phylosophers, as thys Prouerbe *Cave, assignatis* did rise thereof, and is obserued of al men euen at this daye, in so much as no man almost vvyll take a common seruaunt vvith anye suche defect, hovve much more then ought

M.3. a Prince

Of Counsell

a Prince to bevvare howe he chooseth any such to be of hys counsell.

Vysage. A good visage and comblie countenaunce is verye requisite also in a counseler. For that maketh him to bee both loued and reuerenced. His head therefore vvoulde be rounde and of meane bignesse, and hys face vvould be somevvhat long, rather than altogether round, and therevvith neyther to blovvghtye, nor yet to shrympe, his forehead vvould be high, large and playne vvithout any vvrincs, his eyes neither to great nor to little, but in a meane betvvixt both, and therevvith not heauye or dull, nor yet vvanton or often rolling to and fro, but
quick,

and Counselers.

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quick, liuely, and steadie, hys nose neyther to long nor to short, to great nor to small, nor ouer flat, or turned vpvvard, but playne and smooth, and to bee somevvhat hooked is no euill grace, for it betokeneth vvise-dome and stovvtnesse of courage, his lippes vvould be neyther to thick nor to thinne, nor hang ouer lovve dovvnvvarde. And to be short, all the parts of his face vvould be so proportioned, as his countenaunce may bee alvvayes both graue and amiable. And thus vvee ende vvith the qualities of the body requisite in a counseler, vvherin vvee maye seeme perhappes to some folkes to be more curious than is needefull, thinking manye

Of Counsells

nye of those thinges that vve haue spoken , to be but tryfles and thinges of small vvaight, and yet suche tryfles are not to be passed ouer vvith silence: For truely vvhosoeuer vvill treate of any matter absolutely, must leaue nothing out, but must expresse euery little part. And vve daylie see that if any man bieth a house, hee vvill not onely vevve the bevvtiful places thereof, as Hall, Parlour, chambers, and such lyke, but also all the houses of offices, yea euen those that are not meete to be named. Againe, if a Prince be desirous to buye a horse, hee vvill thorovly vevve euerye parte and member of him, yea, and vvill not let to open his mouth vvith
his

and Counselers.

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his mouth, vvyth his ovvne handes, to see his teeth, and to knovve his age, hovve much more carefull then ought he to be in choosng of his counseler, into vv hose handes hee must commit both his goodes, hys lyfe, and his honor.

Of the Princes choyse.

WE sayde in the beginning, vvhen vve defined vvhat a counseler vvas, that tyvo things in that definition vv ere to bee considered, that is to saye, the sufficientcy of the man, and the choyse of the Prince, and that suche sufficientcy did consist in the qualities of the minde, and

N.I. in

Of Counsells

in the qualities of the bodye, of both vvhich qualyties hauing hytherto sufficientlye treated, vve minde therefore novve to speake somevvhat of the Princes choyse . Touching vvhich matter mine Author hath set foorth nine remembraunces or aduertisementes to be obserued by the Prince vvhen he choseth a counseler , vvhereof bicause some bee rather confirmations of those that go before , than newve precepts: And againe, by cause some are to be considered by the Prince before hee cho- seth , and some to be obserued after he hath chosen : I thought good therefore to reduce them into a lesser number , and to make no more seuerall precepts
but

and Counselers.

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but fixe, declaring those first that are first to be considered, and then the others consequently, vvherein though I shall somewhat differ from mine Author in order, yet in matter nothing at all.

First, then the Prince hath to consider, that all the honor, and dishonour, fame, and infamy, profite and losse, preservation and destruction, as vvell of himselfe, as of all his people, vvholy dependeth vppon the good or euill choyse, of his counselors, for if they be vvell chosen, the Prince is iudged as vvell of straungers as of his ovvne subiectes to be vvise and carefull of his common vvealth, and for that, they extoll him vvith infi-

The first
aduertise-
ment.

N.2, nite

Of Counfells

nite prayſes , and his ſubieſtes are readye at all tymes to obey both him & his counſell, thinking themſelues to bee in great ſafetie, vvhiſte they are gouerned by ſuche vvife counſelers, aſſuring themſelues that all things muſt needes proſper that they take in hande. But contrariwſe if the counſelers be euill choſen, then they condemne the Prince of great follye, they bee vnquiet and alvvayes murmuring againſt the counſel, ſaying, that all vvyl come to naught. And if there be anye noyſe or likelyhood of vvarre, they treble and quake for feare , bicauſe they miſtruſt the vvifedome, manhooe, and pollicie of their gouernours, ſaying , that they haue

and Counselers.

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haue not one man able to defende them , and if anye thing succcede vvell, contrarie to the peoples expectation , they impute it rather to chaunce , than to anye vvisedome or foresight of the counsell : vvhereas on the other side, if the counselors be vvise men, the people cōcey-ueth such an opinion of them, as they vvill not belecue that they erre , vvhen they erre in deede , for vvise men sildome erre. VVherefore, sith so many euils doe rise of the euil choise, and so many good things of the good choyse, the Prince therefore in mine opinion can not be to choyse in his choyse, and so let this suffice , for the first aduertisement.

N.3. Secondly,

Of Counsell's

The second
aduertise-
ment.

Secondly , the Prince to the intent he may haue a plentyfull choyse of men meete to serue his turne : had neede not onely to consider of suche as keepe in his Court , and be nigh about him : but also to seeke to be informed of so manye as hee can besides, giuing charge and commission to his Lieutenants and chiefe officers abroad in euery Sheere, to learne by diligent inquirie, vvhich men in their lymittes , be knowvne to be most sufficient to such purpose , and to sende vp Kalenders of their names vnto the Prince , to the intent that hee maye sende for such as hee shall thinke good, pretending onelye to knowve them & to be acquainted vvith
them

and Counselers.

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them himselfe:appointing some reasonable allowvance to beare their charges in iorneying to & fro . By this meanes the Prince shall haue choyse of many, amongst vvhom it is more likely to finde out some one excellent man, than amongst a fevv. And besides that, he shal vvinne great loue, and fame of his people, and encourage all estates, to endeuour themselves , to get vvifdome and knowvledge, and to folovve such vertuous exercises, as they may deserue thereby to be named and numbred amongst those, that are thought meete for such purpose. And by this meanes also , the Prince shall knowve vvhat able men he hath vvithin his realme , of
vvhat

Of Counsellors

vvhat skill they be, and vvher-
 in they are most meete to serue
 hym, at any time that he shall
 haue neede to employe them.
 And though hee shall fildome
 haue neede to chose aboue one,
 or tyvo, to serue him as coun-
 selers : yet he must shevv him-
 selfe courteous tovvards all the
 rest, & praise their vvell doing,
 exhorting them to contynue
 still therein, and therevvith put
 them in good hope of prefer-
 ment in tyme to come, revvard-
 ing some vvith offices, some
 vvith fees, and some vvith mo-
 ney, and some he maye retaine
 in his Court, and discharge the
 reast, vsing himselfe in such sort
 tovvardes them all , as they all
 may haue cause to bee satisfied
 and

and Counselers.

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and contented.

Thirdly, if the Prince bee a Lorde of dyuers countries and nations, I vvoulde not vvise him to bee altogither vvadded vnto his ovvne natie countrymen, but rather to choose some of euery one of those countries to be of his counsell. For the Prince is a publique person, and therefore ought to be vvithout priuate affection and respect, or partialitie, yea he ought to bee a naturall father to all his true subiectes, of vvhat countrie soeuer they be, and stepfather to none, to vvwhose counsell, if any of the subiects be vvronged or grieued, they haue onely to repaire for redresse. But if none of their ovvne countrymen be of

The thirde
aduertise-
ment.

O.I. the

Of Counsells

the counsell : howv or vvhen I pray you shall they bee harde ? for vvho knowveth their customes , their humors , desires, commodities, discommodities, gaynes , and losses so vvell as they? or vvho vvill be so ready to heare their causes, sutes, and complaints as their ovvne coũtrymen , vvhich are forced by lavve of nature to loue them, and to tender them. Besides this if the Prince shoulde haue no counselors , but of hys ovvne countrymen, all the other coũtries vvould thinke that eyther hee did not esteeme them , or counted them as slaues , or at the least did not truste them. VVherof the first vvould breed hatred in them tovvardes the Prince

and Counselers.

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Prince and the counsell, the seconde vvoulde cause them to seeke libertie, and to make conspiracies and rebellions, and the thirde vvoulde make them to become vnfaythfull, disobedient, and obstinate subiectes. VVherefore these things being vvell vvayed and considered, I belecue the Prince shall finde it muche better to choose hys counselors out of all such domynions as are subiect vnto him, then out of one, or tyvo onely.

Fourrhly, the Prince maye not be to hastie, but take good deliberation in making hys choyse of suche men as are named vnto him, resolving vpon none of them all, vntill he hath

The fourth
aduertise-
ment.

O.2. tho-

Of Counfells

thorovvly tryed them, as vvell by report of the countrye from vvhence they come, as also by his ovvne examination. And first as touching the report of the countrie, it shall be necessa-
rie for the Prince, as vvell to a-
uoyde the fauourable, as flaun-
derous tales that maye be tolde
hym, to giue euerye man leaue
to accuse the persons vvhome
he mindes to make his counse-
lers, *sub pena talionis*, that is to say,
that the accuser shall suffer the
payne or penaltie of the cryme,
vvherof he accuseth the partie,
if hee can not duely prooue it.
And the Prince on the other
side must take such order as the
defendant may not hinder, or
stop by his authoritye, povver,
or

and Counſelers.

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or friendship , anye accuſation
that may be made againſt him.
And ſith all men are ſubieſt to
affects, the blinders of all truth :
I vvoulde vvishe the Prince in
theſe cauſes , before due tryall
had, to giue no credit to the re-
port of anye man, be he noble,
or vnnoble, ſpiritual or tempo-
rall. By this meanes the Prince
ſhall be ſure to haue none but
good men to bee of his coun-
ſell , for the euill vvill not bee
ouer haſtie in ſeeking aduance-
ment by ſuche kinde of tryall.
Truely the Romaines in olde
tyme did verie ſtraightly exe-
cute this kinde of diſcypline in
chooſing theyr Magiſtrates,
vvhereby as theyr common
vvealth greatly then flouriſhed :

O.3.

ſo

Of Counfells

so afterwarde for lack thereof,
 it quickly decayed and came to
 naught . Novve as touching
 the Princes examination to bee
 made by hymselfe , I saye by
 hymselfe, and not by his Depu-
 tie , he hath to examine vvhhat
 sufficientie is in the person to
 be elected , by considering and
 measuring euery part of hym,
 both soule & body. To vvhich
 ende mine Author hath made
 and discribed vnto him hereto-
 fore tvvo apt measures to mea-
 sure vvithall, the one of fiftene
 partes, & the other of fve, that
 of fiftene partes serueth to mea-
 sure the soule, and the other of
 fve parts to measure the body.
 To vvhich measures thoughe
 very fewve are to be found, that
 are

and Counselers.

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are aunſwerable in euery condition : yet let thoſe that are more aunſwerable be alwayes choſen before thoſe that be leſſe aunſwerable, and let thoſe that haue more giſtes of the minde and leſſe of the body, be preferred before thoſe that haue more of the bodye, and leſſe of the minde. And if anye two that ſtande to be elected, be equall in both giſtes, and yet be not of like birth, power, and authoritie, or if the Prince perhaps fauoreth the one more then the other vpon ſome affection, or for ſome ſeruice done, then it is good reaſon that ſuche perſon be choſen before the other. VVherefore ſith ſuch things are to be conſidered, vwhen compariſon

Of Counsellors

parison is made , mee thinkes
mine author should haue done
very orderly, to haue added also
vnto his two measures before
descrybed . A thirde measure,
briefly contayning some of the
chiefe giftes of Fortune, as no-
ble lynage, honors, ryches, fa-
uoure of the Prince, and suche
lyke. VVhich kinde of measure
mine Author left out as I sup-
pose , bicause hee thought that
such as vvere aunsvverable to
the two first measures , ought
of duty to be promoted by the
Prince to honours and lyuing,
and that they deserue to bee lo-
ued as wel of the noble men, as
to be honored of the common
people. But sith noble birth, is a
gifte that hath bene alwayes
much

and Counselers.

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much esteemed, and that vvor-
thily , so long as the successors
doe not degenerate from their
Predicessors : And that suche
giftes comes not immediately
from the Prince, but requyreth
contynuaunce of time , to bee
perfite in his kinde : (for it is
an olde saying, that the Prince
may make a noble manne , but
not a Gentle man) : Also sith
there be manye other giftes of
Fortune vvhich man maye ob-
tayne , vvithout the Prince : as
honors gyuen by straunge Prin-
ces, ryches, good lucke in anye
thinge that he taketh in hande,
be it in seruice of the Prince or
othervvise, also friendship, loue
and fauour, as vvell in straunge
countries as in his ovvne , and

P.i.

many

Of Counsells

many such like: It had bene necessary, I say, to haue added also this thirde measure, to the intent that the Prince might haue a trinitie of measures to measure both the length, breadth, and deapth of hys counseler. vvhiche three measures, if the Prince do rightly vse in making his choyse, it shall vvell appere that hee chooseth vvith iudgement, and not for fauour, or vpon any vvyl or povver. For all offices, as mine author saith, are vvoont to bee giuen but three maner of vvayes, that is, eyther for the deserts & sufficientcy of the receyuer, or for the fauour & affection of the Prince borne towards the partie, or else for that the Prince of his owne povver

and Counselers.

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vver vvill haue it so : vvhere-
of the first belogeth to the iust
prince, and the other tvvo to the
vniust tirant. And truely he did
very vvell in saying, that offices
bee gyuen but thrce manner of
vvayes, for othervvise it might
haue beene obiected , that offi-
ces manye times doe passe by a
fourth vvaye , vvoorser than all
the rest, and that is, by vvay of
sale for filthy lucre sake, vvher-
by for the most parte, iustice is
bought & sold, the Prince euill
serued, & the poore people pilde
and povvld. Thus then hauing
shevved hovve the Prince
should choose no man to be of
hys counsell , before due tryall
had, and also hovve such tryall
is to be made, I leaue to speake
P.2. anye

Of Counsell

anye further, touching this aduertisement, the last of those that are to be considered by the Prince, before he chooseth any man to be of his counsell: for the other two aduertisements here following, are to be put in execution after he hath chosen.

The fifth ad-
uertisement.

Fiftly, then the Prince hauing made his choyse in suche sorte as is before taught, shall doe well within two or three dayes after, to call the newe elect vnto hym, and in open presence of his Court & household, briefly to tell him how hee hath chosen him onely for his vertues and good desertes, and what credit both hee himselfe and all his people hath in him, & what shame it would be

and Counſelers.

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be vnto him, if he ſhoulde not
vvith his doings anſwere both
his and their expectation. That
done, he muſt commend vnto
him both the honor and profite
of his ſtate, friendly requiring
him, yea, and ſtraightlye char-
ging him to admoniſhe hym,
and vvith all due reuerence to
correct him, vvhen hee ſeeth it
needfull, and in anye vvife to
be playne vvith him, and to tell
him the truth vvithout all flat-
terie or diſſimulation, bicauſe
he vvvas choſen chiefly for that
purpoſe. For as it is not meete
that euery man ſhould tell the
Prince of his faults : ſo is it re-
quiſite that ſome ſhould admo-
niſh him vvhen he erreth. For
othervvife, Princes ſhould be

P.3.

in

Of Counsellors

in vvorſe caſe than all men, being vtterly deſtitute of faythfull friendes, vvhoſe office is to ſpeake the truth, & to tell their friends friendly of their faultes at times conuenient, and not to flatter at any tyme. Neyther let the Prince bee vnnvvilling to heare the truth modeſtly tolde, and in due tyme, at his counſellers handes : Yea rather let him encorage him thervnto, though it be againſt the ſtomake, for othervviſe he ſhal be ouervvhelmed vvith lies, and forged tales, and neuer heare the truth . Finallye, as the Prince muſt put him in feare of harde puniſhment, if he ſhal leaue to doe his duetie : ſo muſt hee lykevviſe put him in hope of due revvard,
if

and Counselers.

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if he contynue in his vuell doing. VVherby the Prince shall both vvynne to hymselfe the prayse and loue of his people, and also make his nevv chosen counselor, the more careful and diligent in his vocation.

That done, let him be solem- The sixt ad-
uertisment.
ly svvorne to be true and fayth-
full to the Prince, and to promise before God to be diligent and carefull in procuring the vvealth, profite, and honour of hys Prince, and of the common vvealth, and to deale truely and iustly vvith all estates, vsing indifferencie vvithout corruptiō, svvaruing from iustice at no time, either for meede or dreed, for loue or hate, for friende, or foe. Moreouer, neuer to haue priuie

Of Counsells

priuie conferēce vvith the Ambassadors or messengers of forreyne Princes, vvithout speciall commission from the Prince, nor to receyue revuarde, fee, or yerely pension, of any forraine Prince. For by such meanes the princes secretes are many times reuealed, and the causes of forraine princes more fauoured, than the princes ovvne causes, or those of the cōmon vvealth. The couñseler being thus sworne the prince shal be assured of him and may the better trust hym. And if the counseler shoulde chaunce to fayle in his dutye, after he hath taken his othe, the Prince maye the more iustly punish him as a contempnor of God & of his soueraine. Again,
the

and Counselers.

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the counſeler vwill be the more circūſpect in his doings , & the leſſe bolde to commit any treachery. Furthermore, by meanes of his oth he may the more ſafely & boldly denie the vnrightfull & vnreaſonable requests, of his parentes, kinſſfolkes, friends, and ſeruaunts : yea, rather both they , and all others knowving him to be ſvorne , vwill be aſ frayde to make anye ſute vnto him, that is not iuſt or reaſonable . And here endeth the ſixt and laſte aduertifement , the vvhich togiether vvith the other fiue before declared , doe comprehend the full effect of the nine aduertifements or memorialles ſet forth by myne Author.

Q.1.

The

Of Counsellis

The effect of my Authors Peroration or con- clusion.

THUS you haue heard vvhata counsell is , and hovv the Prince that vvil gouerne vvell, ought to haue seauen counsels, differing one from another in offices, officers, and in authoritie. You haue heard also vvhata counseler is, and vvherein his sufficientcy consisteth, that is to say, in hauing fiftene qualities of the minde , and fiue of the body. Finally, there haue bene declared vnto you certaine necessary aduertisments to be obserued by the Prince, vvhen he chooseth his counseler . And
this

and Counselers.

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this is the somme and effect of all that mine Author thought meete to treate of in this his firste of those eyght Bookes, vvhich he hath promised to set foorth touching thys matter, vvho vvisheth that he had bene as able to frame such a counsell in deede, as hee hath heare descrybed in vvryting, for then he vvoulde haue set foorth to the vvorlde a visibie example of the goodnesse thereof, to bee seene and felt, rather than this imagined patterne, to be considered onely vvith the minde. And because he doubteth not but that some vvyll bee readye to finde faultes vvith this his vvorke : he briefly aunsvvereth to such obiections as maye be layde a-

Q.2. gainst

Of Counsell

gainst him . And first vvhetheras
 it maye bee obiected , that it is
 not a meete thing for a Prince
 to take such paine, and to trou-
 ble himselfe in making so pre-
 cyse a choyse. He aunsvvereth
 that it is no trouble or paine at
 all, in respect of the great ease,
 rest, and quietnesse, that he shall
 thereby purchase to hymselfe,
 vvhen he shall haue to deale in
 great affayres , and matters of
 vvayte : be it eyther in time of
 peace or vvarre, for be they ne-
 uer so troublous or vvaytie of
 themselues : yet to him hauing
 such counsell and counsellers,
 they shall seeme very easie and
 light. Some againe vvill obiect
 that the Prince is free, & that he
 maye giue & dispose his offices
 as

and Counselers.

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as him pleaseth best. VVhervn-
to mine author ansvvereth that
the freedome or libertie of the
Prince is no freedome, vvhen
it passeth the bounds of reason,
and that in preferring vvill be-
fore reason, he ought rather to
be called a tyrant than a Prince.
Thirdly, it may be sayde, that it
behoooueth Noble men & Gen-
tlemen, to bee revvarded accor-
ding to their birth and calling,
vvhich mine Author denyeth
not, and yet therevvith sayth,
that it is not al one thing to re-
vvarde a noble man & to make
him a counseler, sith there bee
meanes ynough to revvard him
vvythout that, vnlesse he bee
meete for it. Fourthly, it may
be obiected, that there are no

Q.3. such

Of Counsellors

such counselors as he hath described, to be founde in all the world. VVherevnto he answers, that there are a number of good men and verie sufficient in all conditions to be had, if the Prince choose them for their vertue and deserts, and not by his owne affection, favour, or power. And though there were not, yet if the Prince would doe as he ought to doe, he might make men of stones. For to what soever the Prince is giuen, be it to vice, or to vertue, all men will followe the same. And therefore if the Prince delight in wise, learned, and vertuous counselors, mine Author sayth, that he dare adventure his heade that a number of
Barrons

and Counselers.

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Barrons and Knightes in fewve yeres , vvoulde become most sufficient counselors . And for prooffe thereof , vvisheth that some Prince vvoulde put these his preceptes in vre , not doubting, but that in so doing , hee should quickly see such an alteration in his Courte , as those that doe novv leavvdely spende their tyme in ydlennesse , vayne pastymes , and in vvantonnesse of life, vvould giue themselues to lauvdable exercises, and thereby make the Court to become a schoole of vertue, and knowvledge. VVhich should be to the great honour of the Prince , to the profite of the common vvealth , and to the glorye of God , vvho giue grace to all
Christian

Of Counsell

Christian Princes , so to order
their courtes, and to giue such
ensample themselues, as the cō-
mon people may learne therby,
to liue in the feare of God, & to
doe that vvhich is acceptable
in his sight , and thus
I ende thys
treatise.

FINIS.



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